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An Unlimited Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain.

The failure of the second Hague Conference to give us a general treaty of obligatory arbitration for all nations has led to an increased interest in, and a wide discussion of, the subject since that time. The consideration of the subject at The Hague in 1907 and the vote upon it revealed the fact that almost the entire world is ready for this important step in international relations.

The treaty which was discussed at the second Hague Conference was, it is true, not absolutely unlimited, but it went a long way in that direction. It was defeated by a group of five powers, led by Germany, who was not ready to agree in advance to arbitrate with all powers, the more backward as well as the more advanced.

While unable to move further in this direction for the present, and while waiting for the third Conference at The Hague, our government has conceived the possibility of a most effective step in furtherance of unlimited arbitration being taken without waiting further. President Taft, whose declaration last spring

in favor of arbitrating questions of honor and vital interests as well as all others has given the whole movement new vitality and power, is therefore moving for an unlimited treaty with Great Britain. Our special treaty with Great Britain concluded by ex-Secretary of State Root in 1908 provided only for the submission to the Hague Court of questions of a judicial order and those arising in the interpretation of treaties. It reserved questions of honor and vital interests, and was to run for only five years.

The present moment is a most auspicious one for reviving the effort for an unlimited Anglo-American treaty. The North Atlantic fisheries dispute has just been settled, to the immense satisfaction of both countries. Ambassador Bryce and our Secretary of State have already settled, or arranged for the settlement of, all the outstanding differences between the United States and Canada. Friendliness between our country and Great Britain was never stronger than at the present time. Why should they not, therefore, incorporate in a convention what is already their settled practice, and thus consecrate themselves forever to mutual goodwill and peace and give to the world a noble example to follow?

The interest in the subject in Great Britain is quite as strong as it is here, and there is every reason to believe that negotiations, which are reported already to have begun, will eventuate soon in a treaty of the most advanced type. President Taft has been consulting members of the Senate, and the proposed treaty will, doubtless, be drawn in a way to receive the prompt approval of that body.

It has been suggested that the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty of 1897, which failed of ratification in the Senate by only four votes after having been amended almost beyond recognition, be revived and ratified now. This does not seem likely to be done. It is certainly not advisable that it should be done. Since 1897 the Hague Court has been established, and whatever treaty is concluded now ought certainly to stipulate reference of controversies to this Court. Under existing conditions, there is no need to create two kinds of tribunals for different kinds of controversies, as was done in the treaty of 1897, and many of the specific features of that treaty, which was admirably drawn at that time, would now be wholly unnecessary. The treaty which is required at this time, in view of the existence of the Hague Court, need not be over one-fourth as long as the Olney-Pauncefote Convention, and it certainly should be

much less complex than was that document. The shorter and simpler the new Convention can be made, the better it will be, especially since it is hoped that it will prove a model that will be quickly followed by other governments, and serve as the basis for a world treaty to be drawn by the third Hague Conference.

President Taft will certainly have the sympathy and support of practically the entire nation in pushing the movement, which he has inaugurated, for the speedy conclusion of an unlimited arbitration convention with our kindred country across the sea. Let the world have at once the example of two of the greatest nations of the earth so binding themselves together as to make the crime of war between them hereafter forever impossible.

The Sumner Centenary.

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Charles Sumner, the 6th of January this year, received all too little attention. The memorial services held in Park Street Church, Boston, where two or three of his greatest addresses were delivered, were attended by only a mere handful of white citizens of the city in which he began his two great campaigns for the conquest of slavery and the abolition of war.

It is hard to explain the neglect into which Sumner has fallen in less than fifty years after his death. While he lived he was, for a whole generation, always in the public eye. No man ever had greater and more enthusiastic audiences than those which hung upon his eloquent words when he went lecturing through the country. But now one almost never hears his name mentioned or sees any reference to him in the papers. Even in New England, which cherishes the memory of the nation's great men more fondly perhaps than any other section of the country, Sumner has been very largely forgotten except by those whose lives go back and overlap his. Where he is remembered and spoken of at all, it is not infrequently to point out and dwell upon his weaknesses and defects. One of the chief addresses given at the Boston celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of his birth made Sumner's foibles its characteristic note. Has Boston inherited something of the spirit which ostracized Mr. Sumner in the days when he was beginning his attack on the institution of slavery? It would seem so, but for the fact that the neglect of him is almost equally pronounced elsewhere.

If a man's name ought to be held in reverence and honor in proportion to his services to his country and to mankind, then no name in our annals should stand higher on the roll than Sumner's. His position as the protagonist of the anti-slavery cause, among men in public life we mean, has always been conceded. By his great

speeches in the Senate he made the public political conscience of the nation on the question of slavery, as did Garrison, Whittier and their co-workers the conscience of the masses. No man ever did a greater and more telling service to the country than this. The conscience-makers of a nation are the greatest of its benefactors.

Of all the public men of our history Sumner ought to be most readily pardoned for his imperfections, his pride, his dictatorialness, his irritability. These seem to have sprung directly from his highly-developed moral consciousness, his lofty sense of justice and right, his innate hatred of tyranny and oppression, or were the results of the terrible physical injury which came to him from the brutal attack made upon him in the Senate.

Sumner's services to the cause of peace—his other great work for our country and for the world—have hardly yet been duly recognized even by the pacifists themselves, particularly by those of our day who are new to the movement and know little of its difficult beginnings. When he delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston, July Fourth, 1845, his famous oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations," the peace cause had no standing among the leaders of political life in either state or nation. He compelled attention to it. By his searching exposure of the false ideals of national grandeur and his noble portrayal of the true glory of nations, he brought the subject once for all into the public arena, and gave the cause of international peace a consecration which has never died away. Four years later he delivered in Park Street Church, at the annual meeting of the American Peace Society, his still greater oration on "The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations." These two productions are as profitable reading to-day as they ever were.

Though his attention was turned from the peace movement, to which he had purposed to devote his life, by the demands of the anti-slavery cause upon him, yet he maintained his deep interest in it to the very end of his days. In 1870 he prepared and delivered throughout the nation his great lecture on "The Duel between France and Germany," in which the irrationality of war as a method of settling international disputes is set forth in a masterful way. In 1873, when Henry Richard got his famous arbitration resolution through the House of Commons by the casting vote of the Speaker, Sumner at once cabled the English Apostle of Peace his warmest congratulations; and soon thereafter he carried through the United States Congress a similar resolution. This was his last public personal service to the cause. In his will he bequeathed to Harvard College the sum of one thousand dollars, the income of which was to be used (and has been used) for an annual prize for the best essay in behalf of world peace by a Harvard student.

For many years before he was sent to the Senate,